

‘AḌUD AL-DĪN ĪJĪ’S ETHICS: A TRANSLATION OF AL-AKHLĀQ AL-‘AḌUDIYYA AND SOME NOTES ON ITS COMMENTARIES

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Abū al-Faḍl ‘Aḍud al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Ījī (d. 756/1355) was born in the town of Īj near Shiraz around 680/1281. His father was a respected jurist (*qāḍī*) who claimed lineage back to the second Muslim caliph, Abū Bakr (d. 13/634).¹ In his formative years, al-Ījī traveled to Tabriz, where he spent time studying grammar and the rational sciences with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Jārbardī,² who was a student of the renowned scholar and exegete, al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286). Al-Ījī also studied with Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 711/1311), who was one of the key students of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 673/1274).³ There is also a record of him having studied philosophy as a youth in the Ilkhanid capital of his time, Ṣultāniyya, under the patronage of the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318). During the reign of Uljaytu (1304–1316), al-Ījī is reported to have been both a judge in Sultāniyya as well as a teacher in the mobile madrasas that had become prevalent at the time.

1. Tahsin Güngör, “İcî, Adudüddin Kadî Ebü’l Fazl Abdurrahman b. Rükneddin b. Abdurrahman (ö. 756/1355),” in *İslam Düşünce Geleneğinde Adudüddin el-İcî*, ed. Eşref Altaş (İstanbul: ISAM, 2017), 21–73. Tahsin Güngör, “İcî, Adudüddin,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988), vol. 21, 410–414. Joseph van Ess, “al-Ījī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on September 15, 2020. <http://dx.doi.org/aic.idm.oclc.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3486> Joseph van Ess, “Azod al-Dīn Ījī,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. e, no. 3, 269–271; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/azod-al-din-iji> (accessed online on September 15, 2020).

2. Charperdi in Persian sources. He was likely of Turkic or Persian ancestry.

3. Cf. “al-Ījī, ‘Aḍud al-Dīn.” *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Encyclopedia.com. (August 13, 2020). <https://www.encyclopedia.com/environment/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/iji-adud-al-din-al>.

‘Aḍud al-Dīn eventually became one of the most central figures of what may be called the post-classical (*muta’akhhirīn*) era of Islamic thought following al-Ghazālī (505/1111). One of the distinctions of al-Ījī’s scholarship is in his work of verification or “*taḥqīq*.” Verification was a form of scholarship in which earlier Islamic texts were revisited and commentaries were written to assess whether the contents of earlier works of Islamic theology could withstand the scrutiny of rational arguments developed in the field of Islamic philosophy. While al-Ījī wrote a number of texts within a variety of the fields of what might be known as the trivium of philosophical theology, legal hermeneutics, and grammar (*uṣūl al-dīn*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and *uṣūl al-lughā*) in the Seljuk and Ottoman *madrassa* curricula, al-Ījī’s most lasting legacy was his text on Islamic theology, *al-Mawāqif fī ‘ilm al-kalām*.⁴ Al-Ījī’s two most prized students, Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413) and Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1390), who wrote valuable commentaries on this work, ensured that the framework set forth in al-Ījī’s *al-Mawāqif* would become foundational to Sunni theology for the centuries that followed.

Al-Ījī’s *al-Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*⁵ is among his other writings that were not known as theological masterpieces, yet nevertheless had a significant impact on the study of moral philosophy in the Islamic world. The *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* has also been largely overlooked in contemporary academic writings and often eclipsed by the attention given to the *Nasirean Ethics* upon which it is based. Mustakim Arıcı claims that this scholarly indifference may be explained in the words of van Ess, who described al-Ījī’s abridged works as not containing anything that was new to previous writings, such as Ṭūsī’s ethics.⁶ Arıcı challenges this view by asserting that it is in fact the brevity of this ethical treatise that makes it distinctive. The *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* follows a sequence of works that examined ethics from a perspective of philosophical ethics rooted in Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*. The *Nicomachean Ethics* had a lasting impact on many Muslim thinkers, such as al-Farābī (d. 339/950), Avicenna (d. 428/1037), Miskawayh (d. 412/1030), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, al-Dawwānī (d. 908/1502), ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, and their countless students who expanded upon and redefined Aristotle’s work in Islamic terms while composing a great many new annotations and commentaries.⁷

Mustakim Arıcı writes that the importance of the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* lies not in the contents of the treatise, which indeed summarizes Ṭūsī’s more detailed work, but rather in its format.⁸ The condensed form of al-Ījī’s *Akhlāq* is what gave

4. Mustakim Arıcı, “Adududdin el-İcî’nin Ahlak Risalesi: Arapça Metni ve Tercümesi,” *Kutadgubilig Felsefe Bilim Araştırmaları* 15 (March 2009): 137; and Cf. Tahsin Güngör, “İcî, Adudüddin Kadî Ebü’l Fazl Abdurrahman b. Rükneddîn b. Abdurrahman (d. 756/1355),” in *İslam Düşünce Geleneginde Adudüddin el-İcî*, ed. Eşref Altaş (Istanbul: ISAM, 2017), 21–73.

5. Brockelmann names the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* as “*Risālat al-shāhiya fī ‘ilm al-akhlāq*,” Cf. GAL II, p. 270. Mustakim Arıcı writes that upon examination of the various manuscripts in Turkish libraries, he was unable to find evidence of the treatise being known with this title. Arıcı writes that the following variations to the title of this treatise are found, “*Risāla-i-‘Aḍud al-Dīn*, *Akhlāq-i-‘Aḍudiyya*, *Akhlāq-i-‘Aḍud al-Dīn*, *Risālat al-‘Aḍudiyya fī ‘ilm al-akhlāq*, *Risālat al-akhlāq li-Qāḍī ‘Aḍud al-Dīn wa ḥikmat al-‘amaliyya bi aqshāmiḥā min al-khulqīyya wa al-manziliyya wa al-madaniyya*.” Cf. Mustakim Arıcı, “Adududdin el-İcî’nin Ahlak Risalesi: Arapça Metni ve Tercümesi,” *Kutadgubilig Felsefe Bilim Araştırmaları* 15 (March 2009): 139.

6. Mustakim Arıcı, “Adududdin el-İcî’nin Ahlak Risalesi: Arapça Metni ve Tercümesi,” 141.

7. For a historical survey of Islamic moral philosophy, see Majid Fakhry, *Ethical Theories in Islam*, (Leiden: Brill, 1991). Also see A. A. Akasoy and A. Fidora (eds.), *The Arabic Version of the “Nicomachean Ethics,”* with an English translation by D. M. Dunlop (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Joep Lapeere, *The Arabic Version of Ṭūsī’s Nasirean Ethics with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

8. Mustakim Arıcı, “Adududdin el-İcî’nin Ahlak Risalesi: Arapça Metni ve Tercümesi,” 141.

it the flexibility to be adopted in *madrasa* networks where it could be memorized easily at a time when short versified writings (*mutūn*) were learned by heart and studied with teachers who would write commentaries on them. As a result of al-Ījī’s restructuring of the *Nasirean Ethics* into a short treatise, al-Ījī’s moral philosophy (and by extension that of Ṭūsī) became studied on a far wider scale.

Another important distinction of the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* is that it is composed in Arabic, which made it available to an entirely new audience of students for whom Arabic was a common language for religious learning.⁹ Similar works, such as the *Akhlāq al-Nāṣirī* of Ṭūsī or the *Akhlāq al-Jalālī* of Dawwānī, were originally written in Persian and only later were translated into Arabic. The *Akhlāq al-‘Alā’ī* of Kinalızade Ali Efendi was authored in Turkish.¹⁰ The *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* is originally in Arabic and almost all of its many commentaries are also in Arabic, making Islamic moral philosophy a mainstream field that was studied by students of religious learning. The conciseness of the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* allowed it to be interpreted from a variety of frameworks, as will be seen in the brief survey of the commentaries in this study.

Recent academic work on al-Ījī’s ethics began among Turkish academics, who have made extensive progress in directing attention to the significance of the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*. This focused research over the past decade took the form of various master’s theses, doctoral dissertations, and a concerted effort by various specialists who each composed critical editions and Turkish translations of all of the commentaries known to be extant today. Specifically, the Turkish Manuscript Association (Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu) and the Religious Knowledge Foundation (İlmi Etüdler Derneği) set out on a joint project to publish all of the commentaries of al-Ījī’s *Akhlāq* into critical Arabic editions with Turkish translations. Additionally, the first critical edition of the *Akhlāq* without any commentary appeared in an article published by Mustakim Arıcı in 2009 and later again in a book chapter.¹¹ This study relies on Arıcı’s critical edition of the *Akhlāq*.

Special mention should be made of the earliest academic studies of the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* by Elzem İçöz and Derya Topalcık, who both wrote master’s theses in 2007 which published forgotten manuscripts of commentaries on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*.¹² İçöz and Topalcık’s groundbreaking research in this field laid the foundation for the numerous studies that followed. Asiye Aykıt’s doctoral thesis on Münecimbaşı’s commentary, in which she composes a critical edition of his extensive work along with a valuable analysis, is also among the most significant

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Cf. Mustakim Arıcı, “Adududdin el-İcî’nin Ahlak Risalesi: Arapça Metni ve Tercümesi,” 135–172; and Mustakim Arıcı, “Ahlak-ı Adudiyye Literatürü ve Şerhlerde Yöntem Sorunu,” in *İslam Düşünce Geleneğinde Adudüddin el-İcî*, ed. Eşref Altaş (İstanbul: ISAM, 2017), 631–655. The Arabic critical edition contained within this chapter in the compendium edited by Eşref Altaş was used for this study.

12. Elzem İçöz, *Taşköprüzâde’nin Şerhü Ahlak-ı Adudiyye Adlı Eseri* (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007) and Derya Topalcık, *Kirmânî’nin Şerhu Ahlak-ı Adud Adlı Eseri* (master’s thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007). İçöz later published her dissertation in co-authorship with Mustakim Arıcı as *Taşköprüzâde Ahmad Efendi, Şerhu’l Ahlak-ı Adudiyye: Ahlak-ı Adudiyye Şerhi*, edited and translated by Elzem İçöz and Mustakim Arıcı (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2014).

studies of the various commentaries on al-Ījī's ethics.¹³ Mustakim Arıcı has also published extensively on both the *Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya* with a focus on Taşköpüzâde's commentary as well as more general studies in the field of Islamic ethical philosophy that examine various new facets of this field.¹⁴ Arıcı's extensive research in Islamic moral philosophy has made consulting his writings indispensable for further study on this topic. Other scholars who have contributed to this joint project on al-Ījī's ethics are: Ömer Türker, Mervener Yılmaz, Selime Çınar, Kübra Bilgin Tiryaki, and others, as will be seen. This study builds upon their work through translating the *Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya* into English while also providing a broad survey of the various commentaries which have been composed on al-Ījī's work.

THE ETHICS OF ʿAḌUD AL-DĪN AL-ĪJĪ

In the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful.

Thanks to God for His blessings. And blessings upon His Prophet Muhammad and his family. To proceed, this is an abridgement of the study of ethics that has been arranged into four parts:

Part One: Theoretical (*al-Nazari*) Ethics

Character is a disposition from which actions are manifested easily without deliberation. [The belief in its] ability to change is based on experience, the revelation of divine injunction regarding it, and the consensus of intelligent [people]. The affinity for its change differs based on different temperaments (*amzija*). The faculties (*quwwa*) of the human soul (*nafs*) are three. [The first is] reasoning (*al-nuṭq*). Its moderate form is wisdom (*al-hikma*). Its excessive form is deceitfulness (*jarbaza*). Its deficiency is stupidity (*ghabāwa*).

[The second faculty of the human soul is] anger (*al-ghaḍab*). Its moderation yields courage (*al-shujāʿa*). Its excess yields recklessness (*al-tahawwur*). And its deficiency is cowardice (*al-jubn*). [The third faculty of the human soul is] desire. Its moderation is temperance (*ʿiffa*). Its excess is debauchery (*fujūr*), and its deficiency is apathy (*jumūd*). The virtues are the moderate [forms] of [each of the three faculties listed] and they are three. The extremes of each of these forms are vices and they are six.

These [three virtues] can also be corrupt due to the way [they are implemented]. As for [corruption of] wisdom, there is the example of one who learns in order to dispute with scholars and to debate with fools. As for courage, an example is one who displays it to gain repute and booty. As for temperance, an example is those

13. Asiye Şen (Aykıt), *Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede'nin Şerhu Ahlak-ı Adud Adlı Eseri: Metin Tahkiki ve Değerlendirme* (Ph.D. dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2013).

14. In addition to the works by Mustakim Arıcı previously cited, the following works are also related to his research in the field of Islamic ethics and the *Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya*: Mustakim Arıcı, "İlimler Tasnifi Literatüründe Ahlāk İlmi" [Ethics in the literature of classification of sciences], *Mukaddime* 7, no. 1 (2016): 1–29; Mustakim Arıcı, *Taşköpüzâde Ahlāk ve Siyaset Risaleleri [al-Rasā'il fī'l-akhlāq wa's-siyāsa]* (İstanbul: İstanbul Medeniyet Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016); Mustakim Arıcı, "Aduddüddin el-İcî'de Huy ve Erdem Problemi," *Nazariyat İslam Felsefe ve Bilim Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (2016): 31–56; and Mustakim Arıcı, "Ahlak-ı Adudiyye Literatürü ve Şerhlerde Yöntem Sorunu," in *İslam Düşünce Geleneğinde Aduddüddin el-İcî*, ed. Eşref Altaş (İstanbul: ISAM, 2017), 631–655.

who abandon pleasures, seeking more of it in the afterlife or prestige in this life. These are virtues if they are not tainted by ulterior motives and manifest without effort because this (combination of virtues) is goodness (*khayr*) and perfection (*kamāl*).

Subsequently, there are several subcategories of each virtue. There are seven for wisdom. They are: 1) Clarity of mind (*ṣafā’ al-dhihn*), which is the ability of the soul to discern what is desired without confusion; 2) Excellence in comprehension (*jawdat al-fahm*), which is the ability to reach accurate conclusions from evidence; 3) Intelligence (*dhakā’*), which is speed in deriving conclusions; 4) Brilliance in conceptualization (*ḥusn al-taṣawwur*), which is the ability to envision things to their proper extent; 5) Ease in learning (*suhūlat al-ta’līm*), which is the power of the soul to grasp ideas without excessive effort; 6) Memory (*ḥifẓ*), which is the ability to retain images which have been captured [by the mind]; and 7) Recollection (*al-dhukru*), which is the ability to recall that which has been preserved [in the mind].

Courage has eleven subcategories. They are: 1) Magnanimity (*kibar al-nafs*), which is to disregard both ease and poverty, greatness and insignificance; 2) High aspirations (*‘izām al-himma*), which is a lack of excessive concern with the delights of the world and its hardships; 3) Perseverance (*ṣabr*), which is the capacity to resist pain and fears; 4) Undauntedness (*najda*), which is to not become anxious in times of fear; 5) Forbearance (*hilm*), which is composure during times of anger; 6) Calmness (*al-sukūn*), which is equilibrium during quarrels and battles; 7) Humility (*tawāḍū’*), which is reverence towards those of virtue and those who lack wealth and prestige; 8) Resolve (*shahāma*) in one’s determination to do extraordinary tasks that are commemorated as beautiful [actions]; 9) Endurance (*al-iḥtimāl*), which is to bear exhaustion for the sake of [doing] good; 10) Protectiveness (*al-ḥamiyya*), which is to possess a sense of defensiveness against attacks on the sacred and on religion; and 11) Soft heartedness (*al-riqqa*), which is to experience empathy towards the harms encountered by others.

Temperance (*al-‘iffa*) has eleven subcategories. They are: 1) Shyness (*al-ḥayā’*), which is to restrict oneself out of fear of doing vile actions; 2) Patience (*al-ṣabr*), which is to hold one’s self back from acting upon one’s desires; 3) Self-control (*al-da’ā*), which is stillness when one’s desires are aroused; 4) Integrity (*al-nazāha*), which is earning wealth without disgrace or oppression and to spend it in on good causes; 5) Contentment (*al-qanā’ā*), which is to be content with what is sufficient; 6) Dignity (*al-waqār*), which is derived from giving desired matters their due attention (i.e., without haste); 7) Gentleness (*al-rifq*), which is excellence in commitment to that which leads to what is beautiful; 8) Excellence of one’s pursuits (*ḥusn al-samt*), which is the love of things that will cultivate the soul’s perfection; 9) Piety (*wara’*), which is to hold steadfast to beautiful acts; 10) Prioritization (*al-intizām*), which is to value matters and rank them according to their good outcomes (*maṣāliḥ*); and 11) Munificence (*al-sakhā’*), which is giving what is appropriate to those for whom it is appropriate. This (munificence) has another six subsections: 1) Generosity (*al-karam*), which is giving with ease and good spirits; 2) Altruism (*īthār*), which is to

forgo one's own needs [to give to another]; 3) Magnanimity (*al-nubul*), which is to give with a happy heart; 4) Openhandedness (*al-muwāsāt*), which is to share [one's blessings] with one's friends; 5) Liberality (*samāḥa*), which is to spend extra [on others] when one is not obliged to spend; and 6) Leniency (*musāmaḥa*), which is letting go of things one does not need out of self-discipline.

Justice is a term that combines all of the other virtues. Its subcategories are: 1) Sincere friendship (*ṣadāqa*), which is to love one's friends with sincerity without ulterior motives and to prefer him to oneself in good things; 2) Compatibility (*al-ulfa*), which is the agreement of views to cooperate in managing worldly affairs; 3) Loyalty (*al-wafā'*), which is to commit to fulfilling the needs of others and to keep one's oaths to one's allies; 4) Seeking affection (*al-tawaddud*), which is to seek the affection of one's peers through [actions] that engender this; 5) Reciprocity (*al-mukāfa'a*), which is to return goodness with its likeness or better; 6) Excellence in partnership (*ḥusn al-sharika*), which is to uphold fairness in one's interactions; 7) Excellence in recompense (*ḥusn al-qaḍā'*), which is to compensate others without causing them remorse or reminding them of one's favors; 8) Maintaining bonds of kinship (*ṣilat al-raḥim*), which is to direct goodness towards one's relatives; 9) Empathy (*al-shafaqa*), which is to exert energy to remove things which are disliked from others; 10) Conflict resolution (*al-iṣlāḥ*), which is to be an intermediary between people to remove enmity among them; 11) Reliance on God (*al-tawakkul*), which is to leave striving for things that it is not humanly possible to change; 12) Submission (*al-taslīm*), which is to follow God's commands and abandon objection to what one does not like; 13) satisfaction (*al-riḍā*), which is to maintain a calmness of spirit towards afflictions and losses without change; and 14) Servitude (*al-'ubūdiyya*), which is to show reverence to God and His people and to follow their directives.

Part Two: Preserving and Acquiring Virtues

Whoever attains a virtue, either through its acquisition or through one's nature, should preserve it through proximity to those who [possess similar virtues] and avoidance of the company of corrupt individuals. He should be wary of excessive amusement, jesting, and disputation. He should occupy himself with learning and intellectual pursuits while keeping in mind the clarity, permanence, and purity of that virtue as well as the degradation of the world, its temporality and hardships. He should select sincere friends who will point out his flaws as well as examine the words of his enemies about himself and learn from them his own faults and leave them. He should [also] look at the faults of others in order to avoid the [same errors]. If he detects in himself a shortcoming, he should correct this with challenging self-disciplinary exercises. Whoever has acquired a [spiritual] illness should counter it [in the following order of progression starting] with its opposite virtue, then with harshness, then with its opposite vice in order to cure himself [of this spiritual illness] while being careful not to cross into the opposite extreme, and then with arduous spiritual exercises.

We will list some of the commonly occurring [spiritual] illnesses with their cures. Bewilderment (*al-ḥayra*) is caused by having contradictory evidence, and its cure is through the application of intellectual principles. [Another common spiritual illness is] simple ignorance (*al-jahl al-baṣīṭ*). Those who possess it are like cattle due to having lost the [quality of knowledge] that distinguishes humans from animals. In fact, they are even more astray due to [the tendency of cattle] to seek what is in their interests. This is cured by keeping the company of scholars in order that one’s shortcomings become manifested through conversing with them. As for compound ignorance (*al-jahl al-murakkab*), if one accepts a remedy, then it is through working with mathematics that he tastes the delights of certainty, and then through paying attention to syllogistic reasoning following [a process of] progression.

As for anger (*al-ghaḍab*), it is [cured] by extinguishing its roots, which are vanity and arrogance. They (vanity and arrogance) emerge from an individual that has passed through the urinary tract twice (the father’s leading to conception and the mother’s, at birth) and who will die tomorrow and be in need of his own kind [for burial].¹⁵ Supremacy (*al-iftikhār*) is even farther [than self-importance] because it is [derived from the association with the] honor of another person. The extent of one’s insignificance is realized through travel to a location in which one is unknown. Fame and competition (*al-marā’ wa-l-jāh*) disrupt the order [of societies]. [As far as] jest and mockery (*al-mizāḥ wa-l-istihzā’*), along with giving little benefit and diminishing one’s dignity, they invite animosity and disrupt [societal] order. Whoever is incapable of moderation in jest, should abandon it [altogether]. Deception and injustice (*al-ghadr wa-l-ḍaym*) are derived from [desire] for the delights of the world [despite their] insignificance. [To cure oneself], one should imagine this being done to them by others in order to realize its maliciousness. [Another cause for the spiritual diseases of deception and injustice] is seeking to rival others with material objects. Along with the repugnance [of material objects], they multiply one’s enemies. In times of need, one finds that [these objects] do not benefit one at all. Even if they remain for you, you will not remain [immortal to enjoy] them.

As for anger, once it is aroused, it becomes difficult to shield the mind from its dark smoke, and everything that comes near it serves as fuel for it. Perhaps what might benefit one is to change his environment, drink cold water, and sleep. Anger could be the result of a desire that was not met. It (anger) could boil over (*radʿat kayfiyyatan*) until one curses animals and inanimate objects. Observing these actions and the arousal [of rage] in another person [helps] one draw attention to the vileness [of this behavior]. As for cowardice (*al-jubn*), it elicits degradation, deficiency, and the loss of respect. Its cure lies in facing one’s fears, taking on dangers, and remembering the inevitability of death. As for fear (*al-khawf*), [its cure is in] leaving its causes if possible; if not, then in adapting [oneself].

15. This is an allusion to Qur’an, 77:20-26.

Diseases Derived from the Power of Desire (*Shahwa*)

[The first is] covetousness (*al-hirṣ*), [which can be cured] through reflection on how it is shared with animals, [how material] pleasures are trivial and short-lived, as well as through [reflection] on how foul are the things which are sought. [Additionally, one may find a remedy in] considering the wisdom behind the presence of the faculty of desire, and in possessing a sound mind during [times of] temptation to the soul (*nafs*) as well as becoming preoccupied with learning and other matters that distract one [from temptations] and avoiding what will cause one to become overtaken by them.

Laziness (*al-baṭāla*) [is another spiritual disease rooted in desire and it] leads to the destruction of the soul and body and resembles paralysis in terms of incapacity and the loss of wisdom. [It may be cured] through keeping company with people of motivation and reflecting on the fruits of their labors as well as through listening to their [success] stories and the debasement of lazy individuals and their unfavorable outcomes.

Sadness (*al-ḥuzn*) is derived from believing that all of one's desires will happen and that this will last. This is ignorance. One should direct [attention to] good actions [that genuinely] have permanence.

Envy (*al-ḥasad*) is derived from ignorance and greed that comes from not knowing that one single person cannot have all that is good. Its result is continuous sadness, and its most wretched [form is when it manifests among religious] scholars. If one of them (scholars) is fortunate, it does not cause the deprivation of another (scholar).

Longing (*al-ghibṭa*) is to wish for acquiring good without wishing for the same goods to be lost to another. It is praiseworthy in matters of religion and a form of covetousness (*hirṣ*) in matters of the world. Avarice (*al-ṭama'*) is a debased [state] which comes from [the combination] of greed, laziness, and ignorance of the wisdom of God the most Exalted in [creating a] need for cooperation. Resentment (*al-ḥiqd*) is remedied through imagining true brotherhood [with the person one is resentful towards]. Lying (*al-kadhib*) is worse than not speaking due to the expression of ideas that are not true and possibly might incite harm. [To remedy this spiritual illness], one should reflect on the debasement that lying elicits as well as the distrust and loss of respect [that results from lying]. From it (lying) and from self-admiration (*al-ujb*) emerge boasting (*al-ṣalaf*) and hypocrisy (*al-nifāq*).

Part Three: Household Management

This analysis consists of four matters.

The first [is with regard to] wealth and a consideration of livelihood, preservation, and spending. As for income, [we will discuss] what is related to [its] management of trade and crafts. Craftsmanship is more enduring and entails fewer losses.

It is necessary to uphold justice and honor. As for the preservation [of wealth], spending must be less than earnings without miserliness or exploitation. Ideally, one should divide his property between cash, trade goods, and real estate property as a precaution. As for spending, one must avoid what is reprehensible, reminding others of one’s favors, harm, or showing off when spending in the path of God. And one should focus [attention on helping] those who conceal their poverty. In terms of honorable [giving], one should give hastily, conceal [what he gave], regard [what he gave as] insignificant, do so continuously, and be selective about where to give. In terms of what is essential spending, it is what one must pay a tyrant [to prevent harm] or to secure a benefit. In this case, one must limit oneself to paying the minimal amount necessary. As for what is spent on daily needs, one should [aim to be] economical; [if this is not possible] then he should incline towards extra spending (rather than miserliness).

Second: Spouses are not sought merely to fulfill base desires; [they are also sought] to form a household for one’s progeny and to create a household structure. [Seeking in one’s potential spouse] intellect, temperance, and modesty are indispensable. If there is room for extra [characteristics then one should also seek] a good lineage, beauty, and wealth, for this is even better [when combined with the former virtues]. One should avoid [a woman] who is excessively beautiful because of the number of suitors she has and the tendency [of such women] to be weak in intellect. This is also the case [in seeking a woman solely] for her wealth. [A husband should] prompt esteem for himself in her heart through exhibiting virtuous [behavior], concealing flaws, limiting [his] opening up to her, ornamenting her with what is appropriate, seeking her counsel in particulars, giving her authority in the household, showing generosity to her relatives, avoiding what might stoke her jealousy, and keeping her thoughts busy with matters related to the household. He should avoid excess in loving her, and if he is infatuated by her, he should conceal this. He should not reveal his secrets to her nor consult with her on universal matters. He should conceal from her the amount of his wealth. He should distance her from wasteful entertainment and sitting with old women. As for women, they should manifest temperance (*al-‘iffa*), exhibit fulfillment [with what their husbands provide], reverence, and good companionship with little criticism. Whoever senses corruption (*fasād*), should permanently break [with his wife].

Third: [The third element of household management are] servants. They are like the limbs of the household, and so one should give attention to [their] circumstances and benefits as a whole. Then he should [give similar attention] to each of them individually in order to facilitate their lives and be familiar with their conditions. He must not deprive them of kindness without weakness or firmness without oppression. One must never be excessive in reprimands and must be helpful in every task. One must not overburden them with excessively harsh [work]. Slaves have an even greater priority [than servants in these obligations towards them].

Fourth: As for children, one must choose a good name for them and then have them breastfed by one who is balanced in temperament and beautiful in character.

One must improve their character and remedy them [in ways] mentioned earlier. One must ensure the child keeps the company of good people and becomes busied with a craft that is appropriate for them. One must incline them to perfect their craftsmanship and [be able to] earn a living through it. As for the child, he should know that his parents are the ones who brought him into existence and they are his temporal lords (i.e., the true permanent Lord being God). In fact, [a child's] need for [his] parents makes great care for them incumbent upon him. [A child] should spare no effort to gain their pleasure and love through obedience and benevolence to the best of his ability. Teachers are a child's lords who guide him to the perfection of his human image and [to] immortal life [through refining his character and spirit].

Part Four: Political Philosophy (*Tadbīr al-Mudun*)

The need for [human] cooperation has led to urbanization. The best of them (city communities) are those which are built upon affection (*maḥabba*). This exists either for [a communal] good, benefit, pleasure, or a combination of them. The two sides [of an urban community] are either equal or unequal in their share [of mutual affection] and their continuity is dependent upon this [point]. Its components are a ruler and the ruled, or those who are both ruler and ruled.

As for rulers, they must have firmness of character, high aspirations, clear thinking, strong resolve, patience, and persistence, and must be supportive [of their subjects]. Nobody should have primacy [in implementing their affairs] except for those seeking the repayment of a debt or retribution [for a crime committed against them]. The ruler must adhere to the following three [strategies]: 1) To ensure justice among the scholastic, martial, working, and farming classes. One group should not have supremacy over the other groups; 2) To honor the [pious] elites (*al-akhyār*) and to strengthen them, and then to deter those who commit evil (*al-ashrār*) and to discipline them with penalties, followed by imprisonment, and finally followed by the removal of the instrument of evil. As for death, it is not to be implemented for anything except what has been commanded by religious law; 3) To ensure equity among [the different classes] in the distribution of provisions and benefits. This is facilitated through the adherence to religious laws, ease of access [by the ruled to the ruler], guarding the frontier posts, and making the roads safe. A ruler must remain focused [on good management] while leaving personal special interests [that pose a conflict of interest with the state] while consulting with those of superior intellect and precaution.

As for the ruler's inner circle of servants and advisers, they must be as reverent and compliant as possible while remaining near the ruler without causing annoyance. Compliments and praise should be reserved only for when one is in private residence. [A person in the ruler's inner circle] must exercise flexibility for [the ruler's] change of mind, keep his secrets private, and avoid those who make accusations and [seek to] come between him and [the ruler through sowing division]. He must attribute what is good to [the ruler] at every opportunity as well as be agreeable with him in all matters and abandon greed, and thus be of benefit

[to the ruler without seeking benefit] from him. He should demonstrate that his wealth and blood are sacrificed for [the ruler’s] sake and make this sacrifice an ornament for [the ruler]. He should not participate with him in matters that are specific [to the ruler]. He should avoid him when he is angry and never complain about him, not even in his heart. He should extend continuous service to [the ruler]. Even if [the ruler] makes him as though he were his brother, the [member of the ruler’s inner circle] maintains him (the ruler) as his lord. He should avoid controversy through being upright and should not be distressed by what is said about him. He should not try to have revealed that which was not disclosed to him nor should he be secretive in the presence [of the ruler]. He should not seek to be promoted to another [authority] who is superior in rank.

There are three archetypes of [human relationships]:

Friends (either true or false ones): One must do good to them, show them a pleasant face, give them gifts, show them cheer, support those connected to them (relatives, etc.), assist them, and reciprocate goodness to them. One must overlook their faults and limit one’s admonishment [of one’s friends] except if one believes it will lead to improvement. One should not disclose one’s wealth and personal secrets to them. All of this is for a someone who is not a true friend. As for true friends, then all formalities are dropped because they are one and the same.

Enemies: One should be lenient with them, circumvent [their harm] through managing them, and inform the authorities about them so that they are aware of their animosity, that they do not accept their statements, and so that they investigate their plans and faults while keeping this discrete. One must hold fast to honesty and justice [in dealing with enemies] and mingle with those they mingle with. There is nothing better than surpassing them in a virtue [or an ideal they share with you]. Stay away from slander, cursing, rejoicing in misfortune, and using profanities [towards one’s enemies]. If [an enemy entrusts or] relies on you, do not betray their trust. The harms [of enemies] are repelled through a truce, then avoidance, then defeat without oppression or humiliation [of one’s enemies].

As for those in the middle of friendship and animosity (*al-ma‘ārif*): One must support and have good companionship with all of them. One should be proud with the arrogant while being charitable with those who are sincere and with people of good [character]. One should benefit from the people of virtue through assisting them with material aid and service to them. One must work to improve the character of students and have compassion towards them. One must give to those who ask except if they are asking persistently out of greed and without need. One must have mercy on the weak and be benevolent towards them and fulfill the needs of others to the best of one’s capacity. One should be present for customary gatherings of condolence, celebration, and commemoration while showing happiness at their joy and sadness at their sorrow to the extent that it does not reach a point of hypocrisy.

Commentaries upon al-Ījī's *Ethics*

Shams al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 786/1384)¹⁶

The earliest commentary on the *Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya* was composed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī (d. 786/1384). He was born in Kirmān in (717/1317), where he started his studies under the tutelage of his father Bahā al-Dīn. He later spent twelve years as a student of Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī in Shirāz, where he studied Islamic theology and grammar. Kirmānī also travelled to Egypt, where he studied the hadith compilation of al-Bukhārī with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Farūqī. He eventually settled in Baghdad, where he taught for the last thirty years of his life.¹⁷

In addition to his commentary on al-Ījī's *Akhlāq*, he also wrote a commentary on al-Ījī's text of theology, *al-Mawāqif* fi ʿilm al-kalām, as well as al-Ījī's work on rhetoric, *al-Fawā'id al-Ghiyāthiyya*. After, perhaps, Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī and Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī, al-Kirmānī is one of Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's most prominent students. Al-Kirmānī's other written works include a commentary on al-Bukhārī's hadith, titled *al-Kawākib al-darārī fi sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, and a commentary on Bayḍāwī's tafsīr, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl*.¹⁸

Al-Kirmānī's commentary is distinguished by being the earliest commentary on the *Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya* as well as one of only two commentaries known to have been written by a direct student of al-Ījī.¹⁹ This means that much of the interpretation of al-Ījī's short treatise can be assumed to generally align with his experience of the vision of al-Ījī himself. Additionally, this commentary is also distinguished in that it lays the groundwork on which subsequent commentaries expand upon or are shaped through its influence.²⁰

A critical edition and Turkish translation of Shams al-Dīn al-Kirmānī's commentary was published by Mervener Yılmaz in 2016. Prior to that, Derya Topalcık wrote a master's thesis in which she produced another critical edition and translation in 2007.²¹ The work of Topalcık laid the groundwork for efforts to compile critical editions of the *Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya* in the decade that followed Topalcık's thesis work. Yılmaz expands upon this foundation by examining a number of new manuscripts of Kirmānī's commentaries and offers some correctives to a number of ambiguities extant in Topalcık's master's thesis.

Yılmaz notes that she has consulted the following manuscripts in the course of composing her critical edition of Kirmānī's commentary: 1) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, H. Hüsnü Pasa, 744; 2) Rāṣit Efendi Kütüphanesi, 1115; 3) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ömer İşbilir, 49; 4) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Şehit Ali Paşa, 2815; and

16. Shams al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya*, trans. and ed. Mervener Yılmaz (Istanbul: Nobel Yayın, 2016).

17. Al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 13–14.

18. İsmail Hakkı Ünal, "Kirmānī, Şemseddin," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 26:65–66. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kirmanisemseddin> (29.08.2020).

19. Al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 15.

20. Ibid.

21. Cf. Derya Topalcık, *Kirmānī'nin Şerhu Ahlak-ı Adud Adlı Eseri* (Master's thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007).

5) Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Reşit Efendi, 696.²² Additionally, she writes that the format of al-Kirmānī’s commentary is based on a “*qāla-aqūl*” structure in which al-Kirmānī cites al-Ījī saying “*qāla*” and responds to him saying “*aqūl*,” making it easy to follow which sections are from the author and which sections are explanatory notes added by his student, Kirmānī.²³

Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Abharī (d. 780/1397)²⁴

Ömer Türker has compiled a critical edition and Turkish translation of the commentary of Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Abharī (d. 780/1397) on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*. There is a lack of sufficient biographical information on Sayf al-Dīn al-Abharī, who may commonly be confused with the more famous Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1265). Türker examines the various reports from which a death date for Sayf al-Dīn al-Abharī can be determined, setting the death date for al-Abharī between 780/1378 and 800/1397. He cites Katip Çelebi’s *Kashf al-ẓunūn* as mentioning al-Abharī three times without providing a death date for him. He objects to Çelebi’s attribution of a death date to around 700/1300, arguing that evidence of his having been another direct student of al-Ījī, like al-Kirmānī, indicates that such an early death date would have been impossible. According to Türker’s assessment, al-Abharī’s written works and commentaries on al-Ījī’s writings appear to indicate that they would have had to have been produced sometime between 767 and 777, which in turn would make a death date for al-Abharī most likely sometime after 777/1375.²⁵

Brockelmann’s attribution of 800/1397 as a death date is also acknowledged by Türker.²⁶ The late death date claimed by Brockelmann is based on a section in al-Abharī’s *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* in which he is referred to as being a teacher to both Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftazānī and Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī. Türker claims that a probable explanation for this is the common practice of advanced and beginner students sharing a teacher, in this case al-Ījī, and the common practice of the advanced student, at the end of his studies with the same teacher, tutoring the students early in their studies. Nevertheless, if this statement in the Süleymaniye manuscript of al-Abharī’s commentary on al-Ījī’s *al-Mawāqif* is accurate, it would indeed push his death date later. Based upon this evidence, Türker sets the death date for al-Abharī as anywhere between 780/1378 and 800/1397.²⁷

Along with his commentary on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*, some of the more prominent works of Sayf al-Dīn al-Abharī are: 1) *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, among the earliest commentaries on al-Ījī’s *al-Mawāqif fi ‘ilm al-kalām*. The text indicates that it was completed in 767/1365;²⁸ 2) *Ḥāshiya ‘alā sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-muntaha*, which is a

22. Al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 18.

23. Al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 17–18.

24. Sayf al-Dīn al-Abharī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*, trans. Ömer Türker (Istanbul: Nobel Yayın, 2016).

25. Al-Abharī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 11–12.

26. Cf. Carl Brockelmann, *The History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, trans. Joep Lameer, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 324.

27. Al-Abharī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 12.

28. Ibid., 13.

supercommentary on an Islamic law text; 3) *Sharḥ al-Maṭālī*,²⁹ which is a commentary on al-Urmawī's (d. 682/1365) work on logic;²⁹ 4) *Ḥāshiya 'alā Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, which is a supercommentary on Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 766/1364) commentary on al-Ṭūsī's famous text;³⁰ and 5) *Sharḥ Fawā'id al-ghiyāthiyya*, which is a commentary on al-Ījī's text on rhetoric. There is only one known copy of this manuscript at the Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi in Istanbul. Because there is no explicit mention of al-Abharī as the author within the text, the attribution to him is uncertain.³¹

As mentioned, this commentary is significant in its shared status with al-Kirmānī's commentary for having both been composed by direct students of al-Ījī. Al-Abharī refers to al-Ījī as his teacher in the introduction to his *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*.³² The structure of this commentary is that it is the shortest of all the commentaries. It does not appear to add anything significantly new to other commentaries that are more extensive. Both the commentaries of al-Abharī and al-Kirmānī on al-Ījī's *Akhlāq* have many overlapping similarities that later commentators, particularly in the Ottoman Era, further develop over time.

An Unknown Author (9th/15th Century)³³

This commentary was published by Kübra Bilgin Tiryaki as both a critical edition and Turkish translation. It has been attributed to an "unknown author" because no reference has been found to the author's name. The text, however, contains important historical references that enable us to give an approximate date for its composition. The commentator's introduction dedicates the text to the governor Baysungur (d. 837/1433), who was the son of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh and the governor of Herat. Baysungur was known for being a patron of the arts, and commissioned the building of architectural structures, productions of art, collections of libraries, and provided support for religious scholarship.³⁴

In her introduction, Tiryaki highlights the Sufi elements evident throughout the text. For example, the anonymous author of the commentary criticizes the Muslim scholars of his era whom he claims focus on debates pertaining to Islamic rationalism while abandoning the cultivation of good character and religious practice. The author describes the cultivation of good character, which he says is the aim of studying the *Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya*, as a process that includes struggle and spiritual discipline (*riyāda wa-l-mujāhada*). Furthermore, the author describes good character using mystical terminology such as "the treasures of certainty and the symbols of proper understanding (*kunūz al-tahqīq wa-rumūz al-dirāya*)," "the

29. Reza Pourjavady, "The Legacy of Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī," in *Philosophical Theology in Islam: Later Ash'arism East and West*, eds. Ayman Shihadeh and Jan Thiele (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 358.

30. Al-Abharī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 14; Pourjavady, "The Legacy of Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī," 358. According to Pourjavady, "The glosses were collected from the margins (*al-mujtama'a min al-hawāshi*) of manuscripts of the *Muḥākamāt*. However, in other copies of these glosses, such as MS Leiden Or. 190 and MS Feyzullah 1184, the work is attributed to al-Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjānī."

31. Pourjavady, "The Legacy of Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī," 357; al-Abharī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 14.

32. Al-Abharī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 12.

33. Mu'allif al-majhūl, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya*, trans. Kübra Bilgin Tiryaki (Istanbul: Nobel Yayın, 2016).

34. Mu'allif al-majhūl, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya*, 14–15.

secrets of spiritual ranks (*asrār al-maqāmāt*),” and “the aim of purification (*maqāsid al-tajrīd*),” which, Tiryaki argues, further indicates the influence of Sufism upon the author’s framework in defining Islamic ethics.³⁵

The prevalence of this type of language also appears to demonstrate the extent of the influence of Islamic spirituality and Sufism within the curriculum of Islamic education in Herat during Baysungur’s time. Baysungur was the son of Shahrukh, who was distinguished from his father, Timur, for favoring traditional Islamic piety and spirituality over the laws of Genghiz Khan, as followed by his predecessors. Under Shahrukh and his son’s governorship in Herat, Islamic learning is reported to have flourished in Central Asia and Iran.

The text also appears to demonstrate a partisanship to Sunni political philosophy in a way that other commentaries do not. When offering an explanation of al-Ījī’s initiation of the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* with praise of the Prophet Muhammad and his family, the anonymous author of this Timurid commentary dedicates an extensive amount of space to defining the term “family” as encompassing the entirety of the Muslim community rather than the direct relatives of the Prophet Muhammad.³⁶

‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī (d. unknown)

The commentary on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī (d. unknown) was critically edited from manuscripts by Mehmet Aktaş, and translated into Turkish by Mehmet Demir and Güvenç Şensoy. It was published as one of three commentaries on al-Ījī’s *Akhlāq* by the Turkish Manuscript Association (Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı). In his foreword, Mehmet Aktaş writes that there is only one known manuscript of this particular commentary. The author is known because he is mentioned by name in Kāzarūnī’s introduction to his commentary. However, there is no other information to be found anywhere in biographical dictionaries or the text itself regarding the identity of Kāzarūnī or the date this commentary was written.³⁷ Nevertheless, the text itself contains some distinguishing features worth noting.

Al-Kāzarūnī opens his introduction to his commentary by using distinctly philosophical references to God by offering thanks to God who brings out contingent beings (*mumkināt*) from non-existence (‘*adam*’) into the realm of existence (*wujūd*). He then goes on to give praise to the Prophet, his family, and his Companions (*ṣaḥbihi*), which he qualifies by saying they offered the best of companionship. From this opening to the text, we can gather that the author is writing at a time in which the philosophical theology of the later Ash‘arīs became prevalent. His praising the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, and his emphasis on the excellence of their companionship, appears to indicate that he is likely writing in a milieu in which Sunni and Shia polemics were not uncommon. This tone differs from the

35. Ibid., 15.

36. Ibid., 28–29.

37. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*, ed. and trans. Mehmet Aktaş, Mehmet Demir, and Güvenç Şensoy (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2014), 11–12.

Ottoman commentaries, which use references to ‘Alī and praises of the family of the Prophet with ease throughout the text. Al-Ījī was writing during a time in which, after the Ilkhanate of Uljaytu converted to Shi’ism, a number of polemical works against Sunnis appeared, particularly through the scholarship of al-Ḥillī.³⁸ The adaptation of a tone which seeks to distance itself from Shi’ism may indicate that this text was also a commentary that predates the Ottoman era, similar to that which was written for Baysungur.

Al-Kāzarūnī then proceeds to name himself in the introduction as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khiḍr, who is known as (*al-mulaqqab bi*) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-‘Umarī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Kāzarūnī. His title indicates that he is a Shāfi‘ī like al-Ījī and apparently a descendant of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He continues to say that the study of ethics (*‘ilm al-akhlāq*) is among the most important of the religious sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-shar‘iyya*) and the most prestigious of the rational sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-‘aqliyya*). Considering the divisions between the approaches of the Mamluk madrasa education systems that focused on the scriptural religious sciences (*‘ulūm al-naqliyya*) and the emerging Saljuk madrasa systems that focused on the rational sciences (*‘ulūm al-‘aqliyya*), this framing of the study of ethics as being the best of both approaches would appear to also indicate a pre-Ottoman date for this text. While it is true that the Ottoman madrasa systems also focused on the rational sciences over the transmitted sciences, by the Ottoman era the issue of *naqlī* vs. *‘aqlī* sciences was not a substantial matter of debate.

Al-Kāzarūnī notably spends an extensive section of his commentary expanding upon the definition of the “family of the Prophet” in the opening section of the text written by al-Ījī. He comments upon al-Ījī, who began with prayers for the Prophet and his family (without mentioning the Companions, as al-Kāzarūnī does in his introduction), by stating that the family of the Prophet are the entirety of the sons of ‘Abd al-Manāf, from the sons of Hāshim and Muṭṭalib. He continues, saying that, when used in the general sense, the term includes the Companions of the Prophet and the followers of the Companions (*al-tābi‘īn*) who follow the Companions in the best way. Al-Kāzarūnī continues by saying that if one were to intend the term “family” in the religious sense, then all believers and those of piety would be included in the family of the Prophet. He plays on two similar Arabic words to assert that one can be a member of the Prophet’s family either by lineage or affiliation (*man yu’awwal ilayhi immā nasaban wa immā nisbatan*). There is more to this discussion, but the amount of space dedicated to the issue of defining the family of the Prophet appears to further indicate that this text was written in a period of tension between Sunnis and Shias that predates the Ottoman era, when Sunni scholars were in a position of power within the realm of Ottoman lands. The tone of al-Kāzarūnī’s text appears distinct from those of the Ottoman era commentaries.³⁹

Finally, it is noteworthy that al-Kāzarūnī makes several references to Aristotle throughout the text. At times, he quotes ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and Aristotle simultaneously to further expand on a matter. This is yet another distinguishing factor that

38. Cf. Pourjavady, “The Legacy of Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī”, 337–341.

39. Al-Kāzarūnī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 25.

makes this commentary appear to predate the Ottoman era commentaries. By the Ottoman era, references to Peripatetic philosophy are made with reference to Avicenna, whose philosophy replaced Aristotle in the Sunni philosophical theology of this later period. By the Ottoman era, the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle had become thoroughly Islamized in such a way that it was viewed through the lens of Avicenna.

Taşköprüzāde Ahmed Efendi (d. 968/1561)⁴⁰

Taşköprüzāde Ahmed Efendi (d. 968/1561) is the earliest known Ottoman-era commentator on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*. His prominence as a scholar made his lengthy commentary on al-Ījī’s ethics even more widely known in Ottoman intellectual circles. Taşköprüzāde Ahmed Efendi was born in Bursa in 900/1495 to a family known for its many prominent scholars.⁴¹ This included his own father, Muşliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafa Efendi, who served as a preceptor to Sultan Selim I. Taşköprüzāde’s access to the leading scholars in the Ottoman era was significant to his formation as a scholar of Islamic sciences. His autobiography in the *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda* indicates that he taught at various renowned Ottoman madrasas of his time. He published extensively in the fields of philosophical theology (*kalām*), philosophy, and Sufism. His most well-known contribution is *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu‘maniyya fī ‘ulamā’ al-dawla al-‘Uthmāniyya* in which, following the genre of biographical dictionary works, he lists the religious scholars of the Ottoman era through his time. Another important work of Taşköprüzāde is *al-Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda*, which ranks the fields of Islamic knowledge up to his time. Additionally, he was a prolific scholar who published various treatises and texts in the fields of logic, Arabic language (*ṣarf*, *naḥw*, and *balāgha*), history, philosophy, and theology.

Taşköprüzāde’s is the most thorough commentary up to his time. It was only superseded in its extensiveness by the work of Müneccimbaşı, which was compiled centuries later, building upon the substantive foundation established by Taşköprüzāde. Taşköprüzāde’s commentary becomes one which incorporates much of the same concepts in the earlier commentaries on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* while substantially enriching these earlier commentaries with new material that illustrates Islamic spirituality, practice, and thought during the Ottoman era.

Taşköprüzāde’s commentary arguably reworks the original Nicomachean Ethics from which much of the framework for the first two sections of al-Ījī’s *Akhlāq* was derived through the medium of al-Ṭūsī and Miskawayh into a distinctly Islamic philosophy of ethics that seamlessly incorporated scriptural evidence and Islamic thought, and thus transformed Aristotle’s ideas and surpassed them in sophistication of development. One noteworthy element of this commentary is the

40. Taşköprüzāde Ahmed Efendi, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, edited and translated by Elzem İçöz and Mustakim Arıcı (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2014).

41. Fleming, Barbara, G. Babinger, and Christine Woodhead, “Taşköprüzāde,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 04 July 2020 http://dx.doi.org.aic.idm.oclc.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7429, and Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, “Taşköprüzāde Ahmed Efendi,” in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 40:151–2.

extent to which sayings of ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib appear simultaneously with hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad and Qur’anic verses to support various themes in the first section focused on theoretical ethics. Additionally, unlike al-Kāzarūnī’s commentary, references to Aristotle are absent. It appears that, by Ṭaşköprüzāde’s Ottoman era, reverence for ‘Alī as a figure of piety and model of virtue were integral aspects of Ottoman Sunni thought. Some of the elements of polemics found in the Ilkhānid and Timurid era commentaries are absent in Ṭaşköprüzāde’s commentary in which Sunni scholarship was perhaps coming from a more securely grounded position.

Additionally, Ṭaşköprüzāde’s commentary on the section on household management reveals many details about Ottoman life in terms of family structure and gender relations. Similarly, elements of political thought during Ṭaşköprüzāde’s time are also revealed in his discussion on political philosophy. His introduction to this commentary reveals that by his time the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* had been forgotten and that Ṭaşköprüzāde intended in writing his commentary to compose a robust piece that was worthy of the al-Ījī’s work.⁴² Ṭaşköprüzāde’s commentary is indeed rich in its contents and sets the course for making the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* an important text on ethical philosophy in Ottoman lands.

Müneccimbaşı Derviş Ahmed Dede (d. 1113/1702)⁴³

Ahmed b. Luṭfullāh Ra‘īs al-Munajjimīn al-Rūmī al-Mawlawī (d. 1113/1702) was born in Selanik in 1041/1631. His family originated from Konya before later moving to his birth city. Ahmed Luṭfullāh took to Islamic learning at a young age and became a disciple of the Mawlawī Shaykh of Selanik, Mehmed Efendi. After many years under his tutelage, Münecimbaşı became a master in the field of Sufism based in the Mawlawī order and a scholar of the Islamic sciences. Additionally, he studied natural sciences, mathematics, and astrology with leading scholars of his time. His expertise in these fields eventually drew the attention of Sultan Mehmed IV, who appointed him as the chief court astrologer, whence he gained the title “Müneccim başı,” or chief astrologer.⁴⁴

During his years serving the Ottoman court as chief astrologer, Münecimbaşı published a variety of works which gained him notoriety as a leading figure in Sufism, Islamic scholarship, and imperial service. Among them are: 1) *Jāmi‘ al-duwal*, a comprehensive Islamic history that provides much detail about the Ottoman era; 2) *Hāshiya ‘alā tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, a commentary on al-Bayḍāwī’s famous exegesis of the Qur’an; 3) *Ta‘liqāt ‘alā Yuqlidīs*, a book devoted to Euclid’s geometry; and 4) *al-Risālat al-mūsiqiyya*, a treatise on music.

Müneccimbaşı’s commentary on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* is by far the most detailed of all of the extant commentaries and has been made available through the PhD dissertation of Asiye Aykıt. Aykıt’s contribution to this field has been invaluable

42. Ṭaşköprüzāde, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 25.

43. Asiye Aykıt, *Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede’nin Şerhu Ahlak-ı Adud Adlı Eseri: Metin, Tahkiki, ve Değerlendirme*, (PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2013).

44. Aykıt, *Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede’nin Şerhu Ahlak-ı Adud Adlı Eseri*, 6–8.

in that she composed a critical edition of this lengthy text that had only existed in manuscript form in Turkish libraries prior to her scholarship. Furthermore, her PhD dissertation also provides valuable analysis of Müneccimbaşı’s work.

Details about social life and history can be derived from Müneccimbaşı’s references throughout the text. His introduction begins with what he saw as corruption that had become prevalent in society due to the abandonment of the study of ethics. He wrote that his intention in composing the commentary was to create a resource which could be used to alleviate this societal neglect of the study of ethics.

Among the noteworthy elements of Müneccimbaşı’s commentary is his extensive discussion of Illuminationist (*Ishrāqī*) epistemology and its method of knowing reality as being superior to the epistemology of the rationalist philosophers, whom he criticized for their approach to understanding the world that was derived solely through the mind. Müneccimbaşı’s perspective, as a Sufi scholar from the Mawlawī path, is evident in his discussion of the purpose of studying ethics. He asserted that the purpose of studying the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya* was to acquire virtuous traits that would impact one’s spiritual status. He wrote that the path to achieving the status of spiritual perfection (*al-insān al-kāmil*) begins with self-examination as to whether one behaves in the manner of a person of perfection. He wrote that altering one’s behavior and ridding oneself of character flaws are conditional to spiritual growth. According to Müneccimbaşı, through the acquisition of good character, one ascends through the degrees of illumination until one reaches a stage where one is a direct recipient of light from the source of light. This is clearly a mystically inclined framing of the ethics of al-Ījī that permeates Müneccimbaşı’s commentary.

According to Aykıt, Müneccimbaşı used al-Dawwānī’s *Lawāmī‘ al-ishrāq* as one of the sources for his commentary on the *Akhlāq* of al-Ījī.⁴⁵ She writes that al-Dawwānī’s influence on Ottoman intellectual history contributed to the three foundational fields of Ottoman Islamic studies of philosophy, theology (*kalām*), and Sufism.⁴⁶

Furthermore, the influence of al-Dawwānī’s methodology of using Ṭūsī’s ethical treatise as a framework for further discussion in his *Akhlāq al-jalālī* where elements of late Ash‘arī philosophical theology (*kalām*), Ibn ‘Arabī’s conceptions of divine unity (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), and Suhrawardī’s Illuminationist views can be traced, is also reflected in Müneccimbaşı’s commentary on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*. Aykıt writes, however, that it would be inaccurate to characterize Müneccimbaşı’s work as featuring Illuminationism as prominently as al-Dawwānī does. Müneccimbaşı presents himself throughout the text as first and foremost an adherent of Sufism. The cognitive framework through which he comments on al-Ījī’s ethics is thus centered on a Sufi methodology of spiritual purification. The diseases of the heart and their cures are discussed as spiritual diseases, and the necessity for a spiritual guide in assisting one in curing these diseases is emphasized throughout

45. Ibid., 189.

46. Ibid.

Müneccimbaşı's commentary.⁴⁷

Aykit also examines Müneccimbaşı's political philosophy in relation to comparable works on ethics. She notes that the *Akhlāq al-ʿAlāʾī* of Kinalızade idealizes the rule of Sultan Süleyman in terms of governance and state organization while al-Dawwānī similarly idealized Uzun Hasan in his *Akhlāq al-Jalālī*.⁴⁸ The lack of this type of mention of any specific ruler is assumed to reflect the period in Müneccimbaşı's life in which it was written, when he had been removed from his status as head astrologer to the court and sent into exile. Aykit compares this with Müneccimbaşı's earlier work, *Jāmiʿ al-duwal*, in which he centered the Ottoman Empire in his history as the most sophisticated form of political governance.⁴⁹

Ismāʿīl Mufīd Işānbūlī (d. 1802)⁵⁰

There is not a lot of information on the biography of Ismāʿīl Mufīd al-Işānbūlī (d.1802). He was originally from Istanbul, hence his title Işānbūlī. He was also a member of the Naqshabandi spiritual path with the high rank of *khalīfa*, which meant that he was the representative of the leading shaykh of this Order.⁵¹ His various extant works in Turkish libraries seem to indicate that he was a prominent scholar during the end of the Ottoman era.

Some of his publications available in manuscript form are: 1) *Hadiyyat al-afkār al-ʿabīd Ismāʿīl mufīd*, which was also known as *al-risālat al-Naqshabandiyya*. This treatise is a survey of the foundational principles of the Naqshabandi path written in Ottoman Turkish; 2) *Hāshiya ʿalā tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, which is a commentary on the al-Bayḍāwī's exegesis of the first five chapters of the Qurʾan; 3) *Sharḥ al-shamāʾil al-nabawiyya*, which is an Arabic commentary on al-Tirmidhī's text on the descriptions of the Prophet Muhammad; 4) *Terceme-i-Muhtasari'l-kuduri*, which is a translation of Qudūrī's famous Hanafi manual into Ottoman Turkish; 5) *Risāla fī al-siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*, which is an Ottoman Turkish translation of the treatise by Dede Jongi Efendi (d. 975/1567) on political philosophy; and 6) *Terceme-i-asʿıla al-sāmāniyya li-Sayyid al-Sharīf*, which is a translation from Persian into Ottoman Turkish of various answers on metaphysics given by Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī.⁵²

Ismāʿīl Mufīd's text was first critically edited by Kevser Kösem as a master's thesis.⁵³ Since its completion, Selime Çınar has been able to locate new manuscripts of this commentary, which she has used to produce another critical edition and translation, published by the Turkish Manuscript Association. She writes that a manuscript that she found in the Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi appears to be an

47. Ibid.

48. Aykit, *Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede'nin Şerhu Ahlak-ı Adud Adlı Eseri*, 60.

49. Ibid.

50. Ismāʿīl Mufīd Işānbūlī, *Sharḥ al-akhlāq al-ʿAḍudiyya*, ed. and trans. by Selime Çınar (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu, 2014).

51. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Muellifleri*, ed. Ali Fikri Yavuz and Ismail Ozen (Meral Yayınları, Istanbul, n.d.), i:362. Originally cited by Mufīd Işānbūlī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 12.

52. Cf. Mufīd Işānbūlī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 12–17.

53. Kevser Kösem, *Ismail Müftü b. Ali el-Istanbuli'nin Şerhu'l Ahlakı'l Adukiye Adlı Eseri* (Master's thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2008).

original manuscript that belonged to the author himself. Selime Çınar has relied on this manuscript in her work.⁵⁴

As a practitioner and leader of the Naqshabandi Order, Ismā'īl Mufīd Efendi's Sufi outlook is evident throughout his commentary.⁵⁵ In his discussion of the vices and virtues in the section on al-Ījī's theoretical virtues, Ismā'īl Mufīd adopted a similar tone to Mūneccimbaşı in framing them as spiritual diseases of the heart or spiritual virtues, hence aligning with Ismā'īl Mufīd's own Sufi-based outlook on character development. Ismā'īl Mufīd also commonly used references to the Qur'an throughout his discussions to provide scriptural evidence for vices and virtues. Additionally, his references to debates and perspectives offered by the Illuminationists and the philosophers illustrate his familiarity with Mūneccimbaşı's commentary and what appears as the continued relevance of these discussions during his time.⁵⁶

Mehmed Emin İstanbūlī (d. unknown)⁵⁷

The identity of Mehmed Emin al-İşṭanbūlī is unclear. In his introduction, the commentator names himself and writes that he is the son of Shaykh al-Sayyid Mehmed As'ad al-'Ayntābī. He also describes himself as "*aḥqar al-ibād*" or the "lowliest of God's slaves."⁵⁸ This text, composed by Mehmed Emin, is a translation of the *Akhlāq al-'Aḍudiyya* from Arabic into Ottoman Turkish. The author also provides some Turkish explanation of the treatise in its first two sections on theoretical and applied ethics. He does not provide much commentary beyond translation for the last two sections of the treatise on household management and politics. In the introduction, Mehmed Emin dedicates his work to Sultan Abdül Aziz (d. 1876).⁵⁹

This translation of the *Akhlāq* into Turkish has been transliterated into Latin script by Melek Yıldız Güneş and Aliye Güler. According to them, this text was completed in the year 1864. It appears that the main purpose in the composition of this text was to make al-Ījī's treatise available in Turkish. The historical circumstances in which the Ottoman Empire was transitioning during the post-Tanzimat reforms may explain the need to translate an Arabic text into Turkish. Before the nineteenth century, fluency in the Arabic language appears to have been more foundational to one's education. This movement to translate Arabic texts into Turkish is also evident in the commentator Ismā'īl Mufīd al-İşṭanbūlī, who lived not much earlier than Mehmed Emin. The list of Ismā'īl Mufīd's publications demonstrates an extensive momentum during his time to translate foundational Arabic texts into Turkish for the first time in the Ottoman era. The historical context in which Ottoman society and politics are radically changing may also explain

54. Mufīd İşṭanbūlī, *Sharḥ al-Akhlāq*, 17–18.

55. *Ibid.*, 12.

56. *Ibid.*, 47.

57. Mehmed Emin İstanbuli, *Şerhu'l Ahlakı'l Adudiyye: Melzemetü'l ahlak*, transliteration Melek Yıldız Güneş and Aliye Güler (Istanbul: Nobel Yayın, 2016).

58. While there was a minister who lived around this time period named Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha (d. 1871), nothing in this description indicates that they are the same individuals. Mehmed Emin was a common name in the Ottoman era.

59. Mehmed Emin İstanbuli, *Şerhu'l Ahlakı'l Adudiyya*, 12–14.

the lack of commentary on the sections on family life and political philosophy by Mehmed Emin İştānbūlī.

Conclusion

New research in the past decade has brought to light the extent to which ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī’s abridged treatise on moral philosophy has played a pivotal role in the study of ethics in the Muslim world. Muslim thinkers such as Miskawayh and Ṭūsī—who benefitted from the structure of the *Nicomachean Ethics* in terms of examining virtues from a lens of moderation, excess, and deficiency—were not content to simply rely on mere translations of Aristotle’s ethics without significantly restructuring the text to have relevance to Muslim practitioners. Not only did they add sections on household management and political philosophy, sections which are not a part of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, but also they redefined aspects of theoretical and practical ethics on Islamic terms.

Al-Ījī’s genius in his contribution to this field was to produce an abridged treatise of the Nasirean ethics that had the flexibility to permit its use in vast networks of *madrasas* from Central Asia and Iran to the Ottoman lands. The stature of ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī as a giant of later Ash‘arī theology also ensured that his treatise would be received with attention. In the brief survey of the numerous commentaries on the *Akhlāq al-‘Aḍudiyya*, it is evident that Muslims with inclinations for Islamic spirituality and mysticism explicitly defined virtue through the framework of Sufi thought. Vices were considered diseases of the heart. Virtues were regarded as spiritual states of being, and progression on the spiritual path was defined through the extent to which one implemented the virtues in al-Ījī’s ethics that were elaborated on by lengthy commentaries. Islamic scriptural evidence in the form of Qur’anic verses, hadiths, and sayings of ‘Alī and other early Companions of the Prophet are woven seamlessly throughout the commentaries of al-Ījī’s ethics, demonstrating how premodern Muslims regarded ethics and virtue to be mainstream to foundational Islamic teachings and practice.

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